1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 684

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'lglθdatddj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In [illegible] marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's [illegible]s. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] (a), 551.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.